

THE CHURCH and A WARLESS WORLD

The Next Step—Reduction of Armaments

A CREED FOR BELIEVERS IN A WARLESS WORLD

Isaiah 2:2-4

- I. *We Believe* in a sweeping reduction of armaments.
- II. *We Believe* in international law, courts of justice and boards of arbitration.
- III. *We Believe* in a world-wide association of nations for world peace.
- IV. *We Believe* in equality of race treatment.
- V. *We Believe* that Christian patriotism demands the practice of good-will between nations.
- VI. *We Believe* that nations no less than individuals are subject to God's immutable moral laws.
- VII. *We Believe* that peoples achieve true welfare, greatness and honor through just dealing and unselfish service.
- VIII. *We Believe* that nations that are Christian have special international obligations.
- IX. *We Believe* that the spirit of Christian brotherhood can conquer every barrier of trade, color, creed and race.
- X. *We Believe* in a warless world, and dedicate ourselves to its achievement.

ISSUED BY

THE COMMISSION ON INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE AND GOOD-WILL
OF
THE FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

105 EAST 22ND STREET, NEW YORK CITY

CONSTITUENT BODIES OF THE
FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN AMERICA

Baptist Churches, North
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Christian Church
Christian Reformed Church
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Churches of God in N. A.
(General Eldership)
Congregational Churches
Disciples of Christ
Friends
Evangelical Synod of N. A.

Evangelical Association
Lutheran Church, General Synod
Methodist Episcopal Church
Methodist Episcopal Church, South
African M. E. Church
African M. E. Zion Church
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Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A.
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Protestant Episcopal Commissions on
Christian Unity and Social Service
Reformed Church in America
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Reformed Episcopal Church
Reformed Presbyterian Church,
General Synod
Seventh Day Baptist Churches
United Brethren Church
United Evangelical Church
United Presbyterian Church

An Appeal to 150,000 Churches in America

1. To observe Sunday, November 6, 1921, "as a day for special prayer, self examination and supplication for God's blessing on the International Conference on Limitation of Armament," and to consider in the sermon of that day America's international duties.
2. To hold special services on November 11, 1921, as requested by President Harding at the time of the opening of the Conference and the holding of the Memorial Service.
3. To provide for special meetings in every city on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday evenings (November 7-10) to study the problems of international relations, methods for their solution, and limitation of armament; or if these dates be impracticable, to consider these questions at mid-week meetings during successive weeks.
4. To unite in every city in the latter part of October or in November in holding a public mass meeting on a real reduction of armament.
5. To cooperate as churches with other national and local movements promoting the demand for a real reduction in armament.
6. To emphasize afresh in the services on Thanksgiving Day the Christian belief in a Warless World and in a sweeping reduction of armament as an imperative and immediate step toward the ultimate goal.
7. To continue throughout the sessions of the Conference to study its proceedings and to pray for its success.

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The Federal Council has cabled to the Church Federations in England, France and Japan, suggesting similar observance of November 6 and 11 by the churches of those countries.

▽ ▽

The World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches which met at Geneva, September 14, 1921, comprising twenty-three National Councils, the President being the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Vice-President being the Archbishop of Sweden, and the Chairman of the International Executive Committee being Dr. Nehemiah Boynton of the United States, is appealing to Christians in all nations to observe Sunday, November 6, as a day of prayer for the Conference. The Twenty-three National Councils of the World Alliance are those in America, Great Britain, Denmark, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Finland, Belgium, Esthonia, Greece, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania, Jugo-Slavia, Bulgaria, Japan, Turkey, Spain and Portugal.

A Call to Prayer and Consecration



O ALL WHO LOVE OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST:

The coming Conference on Limitation of Armament brings to all Christian people a priceless opportunity. To all good citizens indeed, and to all lovers of humanity, it is a time of challenge and of hope, but supremely so to those who have seen in Jesus Christ a revelation of love and brotherhood as the true way of life. To bear convincing witness everywhere to this faith is our privilege and our duty in the present crisis.

With harrowing memories of more than ten million men who laid down their lives in the awful holocaust from which we have just emerged, of the countless homes bearing burdens of anguish and suffering, of the desolation and pestilence that have sprung from the war and still ravage whole peoples, and, most of all, of the aftermath of bitterness, suspicion and hate which pervade all lands, let us insist far more vigorously than we have ever done before, that war is an unmitigated curse to humanity and a denial of the Christian Gospel. Let us declare plainly that in every war the Son of Man is put to shame anew and that every battlefield is a Calvary on which Christ is crucified afresh.

Let us not shrink from proclaiming unequivocally that war is not a necessity, that the pacific settlement of every international question is possible, that a warless world can really be achieved. Our witness must be unmistakable that force is not the final arbiter among the nations, but that justice, reason and good-will can control their life as well as the life of individual men. To continue to point to the mailed fist as our ultimate reliance and to carry on a program of mutual distrust and fear, is to undermine the very foundation of our Christian faith.

Let there be throughout the Church a fire of holy indignation not only against war but also against the mad competition in armaments which has nourished suspicion, ill-will and fear, and from which wars have always sprung and always will. Let us not allow the reduction of armaments to be regarded as an economic issue alone. The question is at heart a moral and religious one. Let us repeat from one end of the nation to the other the discerning words of our Government's official invitation to the Conference: "The rivalries of armaments are not only without economic justification, but are a constant menace to the peace of the world."

Let us pray unceasingly that the Spirit of God may guide our leaders assembled at the conference of the nations, that unselfish motives and wise counsels may prevail. Let us give ourselves unstintedly to cultivating a Christian public opinion so strong that it will make possible the richest results from their deliberations. We cannot be satisfied with a mild curtailment of our military expenditure. Nothing less than a far-reaching reduction in armaments on sea and land can suffice. It is not for us to dictate the specific plans by which the longed-for goal may be achieved, but insist we must, with all the passion of our souls, that rational and pacific methods must now be found for the settlement of international disputes.

With a more poignant realization than we have ever had before of the terrible consequences of national selfishness, let us humbly confess our own share of sin in participating in the race of armaments, in seeking our own advantage regardless of neighbors, in adding to the world's burden of suspicion and distrust. Let us, as a people, open wide our hearts to the divine spirit of love and brotherhood revealed to us in its fullness by Jesus Christ. Let us dedicate ourselves anew to building in this war-ridden earth the City of God foretold by the mouth of prophets since the world began.

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

The Church and the Conference on Limitation of Armament

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 6, 1921 — A Special Day of Prayer

SUGGESTED ORDER OF SERVICE

Organ Prelude

Opening Sentences by the Minister

O worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness: let the whole earth stand in awe of him. For He cometh, He cometh to judge the earth: and with righteousness to judge the world, and the people with His truth. Let all the people praise Thee, O God, let all the people praise Thee. Let the nations rejoice and be glad: for Thou shalt judge the people righteously, and govern the nations upon earth.

Invocation:

O Thou King Eternal, immortal, invisible, Thou only wise God our Saviour, hasten, we beseech Thee, the coming of Thy kingdom upon earth, and draw the whole world of mankind into willing obedience to Thy reign. Cast out all evil things that cause wars and dissensions, and let Thy Spirit rule the hearts of men in righteousness and love. Manifest Thy will in the brotherhood of man and the bringing in of universal peace and good-will. To this end bless our worship this day with Thy loving benediction.

Hymn: "O Worship the King, all glorious above," or
"O God of Love, O King of Peace."

Responsive Reading (followed by Gloria).
Psalm 46 or 27.

Anthem: "How lovely are the messengers that bring us the tidings of peace."

Scripture Reading: Micah 4:1-5; 6-8; Luke 10:25-27.

Hymn: "God the All Terrible . . . Give to us peace in our time, O Lord," or
"O God, our Help in Ages Past."

Pastoral Prayer

Offertory

Notices:

(If desired the Call to Prayer and Consecration may be read.)

Sermon: The Vision of a Warless World—Isaiah 2:2-4.

Prayer for a Warless World:

O God, Father of all mankind, whose throne is established in righteousness, and whose dwelling is eternal peace; have mercy upon Thy weak and weary children, who have not found the way through righteousness to peace. Have pity upon the toiling masses of mankind, bent beneath the burdens of the making of war, shadowed by fears, suspicions, and longlasting hatreds, unable to come out into the large places of trust and brotherhood. Send us, O God, times of a better and more brotherly spirit.

Let Thy blessing be with the delegates from the nations, as they gather and take counsel concerning the things that make for peace. Give to each and all of them largeness of vision, calmness of temper, the spirit of true judgment, a deep and ever-present sense of the miseries which war brings upon mankind, and an unwavering faith in the possibilities of human progress. Enable them to see the better way, and to chart it truly for the time to come.

May Thy Spirit brood over the Conference, bringing out of the chaos of our bewildered and disordered world a new order of righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Spirit, wherein all men shall dwell as children of God in the home of their Father.

This we ask in the name of Jesus Christ, Master of the hearts of men, and Leader of their hopes.
Amen.

Hymn: "It Came Upon the Midnight Clear," or
"Where cross the crowded ways of life, Where sound the cries of race and clan."

Benediction

Suggestions for a Sunday School Service

Sunday, November 6, 1921

The following very brief service may be introduced without disarranging the regular order of service, and may be helpful in directing the thought of the pupils to the Conference and its great significance.

Scripture Reading: Micah 4:1-4.

Address, five minutes, by the Superintendent or Pastor or some one selected by the Superintendent.

The address might well include such points as the following:

1. What is the Conference on Limitation of Armaments? How was it called and who compose it?
2. Facts concerning the cost of armaments at present; our naval program; what might be done with the millions thus spent, if put in schools, churches, missions, playgrounds, hospitals, etc.
3. The power of prayer for the Conference, and for universal peace and good-will.

Where practicable, union Sunday school rallies and processions might well be arranged for Armistice Day, November 11, with more extended addresses to children and young people on the necessity of right international and inter-racial attitudes for reduction of armaments and for a warless world.

A children's pageant entitled "Uncle Sam's Choice" (15 min.), by Miss Anna Cope Evans, suitable for use in Sunday Schools and other groups of young people or as a feature in connection with public gatherings can be secured from the Federal Council of the Churches (price twenty cents).

Significant Declarations

"Christ alone carries love across the gulf of race and nation, and seeks to make mankind genuinely one."—ROBERT E. SPEER.

"I have lived, sir, a long time, and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, that God governs the affairs of men, and if a sparrow cannot fall without His notice, is it probable that an Empire can rise without His assistance? I firmly believe that without His aid we shall succeed in our political building no better than the builders of Babel. We shall be divided by our little partial local interest; our projects will be confounded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and byword to future ages. And what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing governments by human wisdom, and leave it to Chance, War, and Conquest."

—BENJAMIN FRANKLIN, *on moving that prayers be offered at the opening of each day's session of the Constitutional Congress of the United States, 1787.*

"If the clergymen of the United States want to secure a limitation of armaments, they can do it now without further waste of time. . . . The responsibility is entirely on the professing Christians of the United States. If another war like the last one should come, they will be responsible for every drop of blood that will be shed and for every dollar wastefully expended."—GENERAL TASKER H. BLISS.

"There is no more inconceivable folly than this continued riot of expenditure on battleships at a time when great masses of humanity are dying of starvation."—HERBERT HOOVER.

"The obstacle (to disarmament) which seems to me the greatest . . . is one which we will not admit exists, and that is the reliance which we have come to have on force as the only power left on earth with which to govern men. . . . I refuse to concede that force is the only power left, or that it should be the dominating and controlling power. It cannot be possible. Reason and justice must still have their place in the affairs of the world, and if leaders and statesmen are strong enough to place their reliance upon them, they will go far."—SENATOR BORAH.

"I cannot conceive of any greater disaster than the failure of the Conference to achieve the ends for which it is called. It is essential that all should help make it a success. We can all help. We can help by promoting good-will, by not saying unkind things about other nations, by disarming our minds before we reduce our fleets."—LORD NORTHCLIFFE.

SUGGESTED TOPICS

(For suggestive material on each of the topics, see the following pages.)

Sunday, November 6, 1921

THE VISION OF A WARLESS WORLD

Isa. 2:2-4; Isa. 9:6-7, Zach. 9:9-10.

(Suggestive note: In the first passage Isaiah not only describes the goal of a warless world, but also the essential steps to its achievement.)

1. "He will teach us of His Ways"—God's immutable moral laws of justice, righteousness, truth, brotherhood and service.
2. "We will walk in His paths"—man's determined will to obey and practice those laws, repudiating the politics of force.
3. "He will judge between the peoples"—the pacific settlement under the Divine Rule of all international disputes.

RESULTS

4. "They shall beat their swords into plowshares"—"Neither shall they learn war any more"—disarmament, transformation of instruments of destructive warfare into tools of productive industry.



Monday, November 7, 1921¹

THE STAGGERING BURDENS OF A WARRING WORLD

Joel 3:9-15—2:1-6.

1. The Economic Cost.
2. The Cost in Race Degeneration.
3. The Social Cost.
4. The Moral and Religious Cost.

¹ On this and each of the following evenings, the successive sub-topics might be discussed by different speakers in 15-20 minute talks. If the dates suggested be impracticable, the topics can be used at other times.

Tuesday, November 8, 1921

CAUSES OF THE BIG ARMAMENTS OF THE WARRING WORLD

James 3:13—4:2.

1. Economic Causes.
2. Political Causes.
3. Psychological Causes.
4. Moral Causes.



Wednesday, November 9, 1921.

PROBLEMS BEFORE THE CONFERENCE ON LIMITATION OF ARMAMENT

Prov. 1:1-3, 7-9, 24-31; 6:16-19; 15:1-4.

1. Problems of National Security.
2. Problems of International Justice.
3. Special Problems of the Pacific.



Thursday, November 10, 1921

THE DISTINCTIVE CONTRIBUTION OF THE CHURCH IN ESTABLISHING A WARLESS WORLD

Micah 6:6-8; Matt. 5:38-48.

1. The Contribution of non-Religious Groups and Specialists.
2. The Moral and Religious Contribution of the Church.
3. Some Searching Questions.
4. A Creed for Believers in a Warless World.



Friday, November 11, 1921

THE GREAT DECISION TO ACHIEVE A WARLESS WORLD

Josh. 24:14-15; Matt. 4:1-11.

1. The Alluring Temptation of Militarism.
2. The Choice of a Master.
3. Dedication to the Achievement of a Warless World.

The Staggering Burdens of a Warring World

(Topic suggested for Monday, November 7, 1921.)

The Nations are reeling and staggering today under their terrible burdens. They squandered their incomes in "adequate preparedness" before 1914, each nation assured by its leaders that full preparedness would save them from the greater expenses and tragedy of war.

They little realized that the huge and costly armaments of the leading nations was itself one of the compelling reasons why they were plunged into war. Big preparedness proves to be not "insurance" against war, but for it.

The losses they have suffered, the pain and sorrow they have endured, the inconceivable debts they have incurred—frightful handicaps for future generations,—the continued necessity of maintaining armaments even larger and more costly than before, the loss of workers, the collapse of industry and commerce, the

dissatisfaction of large classes causing serious social and political disorder, the moral disaster of deepened enmity, suspicion and fear—these are the crushing burdens under which the nations are staggering.

A Stunning Question

Will Germany win the war after all? Being compelled to disarm, she has stopped her bloated budgets for armaments. Her yearly payments for reparations are less than what either France, England or America has elected to spend the past year on their respective armaments. Germany is hard at work producing, the sure and only road to recovery and prosperity. England, France and America are still lagging in production and at the same time are wasting enormous sums maintaining their "preparedness" programs.

Significant Declarations

"The lessons of the last six months should be enough to convince everybody of the danger of nations striding up and down the earth armed to the teeth. . . . Unless some such move is made (reduction of armaments) we may well ask ourselves . . . whether we are doomed to go headlong down through destructive war and darkness into barbarism."—GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING.

"Something should be done as soon as possible to check the growth of armaments, especially naval armaments."—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

"If we do not destroy war, war will destroy us."—LORD BRYCE.

"Competition in armaments means the wreck of civilization throughout the world."—GILBERT MURRAY.

"The piling up of armaments is causing general bankruptcy, anarchy and perpetual and universal war. If governments do not agree simultaneously to limit armaments, they commit suicide."

—BARON D'ESTOURNELLES DE CONSTANT.

"Productive labor is staggering under an economic burden too heavy to be borne unless the present vast public expenditures are greatly reduced. It is idle to look for stability or the assurance of social justice or the security of peace, while wasteful and unproductive outlays deprive effort of its just reward, and defeat the reasonable expectation of progress. . . . There can be no final assurance of the peace of the world in the absence of the desire for peace, and the prospect of reduced armaments is not a hopeful one unless this desire finds expression in a practical effort to remove causes of misunderstanding and to seek ground for agreement as to principles."—HON. CHARLES E. HUGHES.

STARTLING STATISTICS

(For the sources of the following statistics, cf. "The Next War," by Will Irwin, "The Staggering Burden of Armament," published by World Peace Foundation)

The Cost of the Great War

Direct cost not counting interest.....	\$186,000,000,000.00
All costs, direct and indirect, including loss of shipping, damaged property, loss of production, etc.	\$355,291,719,815.00
Cost of all wars, 1793-1910.....	\$23,000,000,000.00
Cost of World War, 1914-1918..	\$186,000,000,000.00



Loss of Life

Killed in Battle	19,658,000
Increased death rate	30,470,000
Decreased birth rate.....	40,500,000
Total	89,628,000



National Debts

	1913	1920
United States of America	\$1,028,000,000.00	\$24,974,000,000.00
Great Britain.....	3,485,000,000.00	39,314,000,000.00
France	6,346,000,000.00	46,025,000,000.00



Army and Navy Appropriations

	1912	1921
Great Britain.....	\$351,044,000.00	\$1,121,318,000.00
Japan	93,576,000.00	282,357,000.00
United States	244,177,000.00	1,422,752,000.00



Three Big Navies (In 1924)

	GREAT BRITAIN			UNITED STATES			JAPAN		
	Built	Bldg.	Total	Built	Bldg.	Total	Built	Bldg.	Total
Battleships with guns 14" and up.....	14	—	14	11	10	21	4	4	8
Battle cruisers	14	—	14	—	6	6	4	2	6
Smaller battleships	14	—	14	8	—	8	3	—	3
Smaller cruisers	4	—	4	—	—	—	10	3	13
Light Cruisers	62	7	69	3	10	13	—	—	—
Destroyers	190	—	190	287	30	317	99	—	99
Submarines	98	—	98	100	66	166	13	—	13

In August, 1921, Great Britain voted to build four new battleships bigger and heavier than any yet existing, because of America's undiminished speed in her naval program. These new British battleships have not yet been begun.

Preparedness Expenditures

	U. S. Army	U. S. Navy
1881	\$40,466,461.00	\$15,686,672.00
1891	48,720,065.00	26,113,896.00
1901	114,615,697.00	60,506,978.00
1911	160,135,976.00	119,037,644.00
1921	771,530,000.00	651,222,000.00



The average tax paid to the Federal Government in 1920 by each person was \$43.64. For what was it spent?

United States Expenditures, 1920

I. Past Wars.....	\$2,890,000,000.00—63.2 per cent
II. Future Wars	1,348,000,000.00—29.4 per cent
Past and Future Wars	92.6 per cent
III. Civil Departments..	220,000,000.00— 4.8 per cent
IV. Public Works	65,000,000.00— 1.4 per cent
V. Research, public health, education and development...	59,000,000.00— 1.3 per cent
Total.....	\$4,582,000,000.00

A Suggestion. The foregoing startling statistics can be made impressive for audiences by drawing them to scale on large, black and white posters, the black portion filled in with a brush, using India ink. These statistics might be posted in the vestibule of the church and in other public places.

What Has Created the Big Armaments of a Warring World?

(For Tuesday, November 8, 1921.)

The causes direct and indirect are many and intricate. They have also been quite natural. An over simple analysis does not tally with the facts. To establish a warless world we must face the facts and all the facts.

It is not enough to say to the nations—"be good." We must find out what it is to be good in this modern world and we must establish suitable international agencies, so that we can be good. We must do much hard-headed, cool-headed, clear-minded and creative thinking.

The principal direct and indirect causes of big armaments, and also of the recent world war, are the following:

1. Science, steam and electric power and standardized production by machinery, have given the advanced nations extraordinary powers of expansion and aggression.

2. Creation of wealth and massing of capital, control of disease and increase of population, with demand for more food and for abundant raw material, have caused the progressive nations to reach out long arms into all the world.

3. The existence of many absolutely independent sovereign governments, each responsible only to its own people for their welfare has led to conscious and scheming rivalry and the adoption by several governments of the policy of economic imperialism. By diplomacy, intimidation and intrigue they have sought for expansion of commerce and for the political control of those backward geographical areas on which they were, or expected to be, dependent for food and raw material.

4. Suspicion and fear of neighbors have led each government to build up its own defensive system. This practice antedates, indeed, human history. But it has reached modern proportions because the discoveries of science have been effectively utilized.

5. The massing and mobilizing for war of the entire power of each nation has become possible by popular education, growing nationalism, increasing political centralization, and growing inter-relation and co-operation of commerce, industry and politics.

6. Acts of one people or Government with no thought or intention of ill-will, have often brought harm to neighbor nations, arousing feelings and acts of retaliation growing into settled mutual hostility.

7. The modern system of finance has enabled Governments through loans and credits not only to utilize to the full, existing wealth, but to discount and mortgage their futures and thus to create big armaments otherwise impossible.

8. The modern system of treaties, open and secret, have produced groups of "powers" committed to assist each other under certain contingencies, thus increasing fears and suspicions and making swollen war budgets inevitable in every land.

9. Vast private manufacturing enterprises, producing munitions and other materials needed by armies and navies have deliberately cultivated international suspicions and fears for purposes of private gains.

10. A materialistic, unchristian philosophy, justifying the right of strong peoples to take and to dominate the earth, has stimulated selfish nationalistic ambitions and rivalries. The doctrines that mere might gives right; that moral laws do not bind nations; that the weak must go to the wall; that victors may ignore the needs of the vanquished and may exploit them and their resources—these inhuman doctrines of materialism have led to vast national crimes, and to deep-seated hatreds and plans for revenge.

11. The will to avert the fate of the vanquished, if not positively to win the prize of the victor, has been a mighty modern cause of super-armaments.

12. The *people* of every land and age hate war. If so, why have wars come? Because they have usually been misinformed by the ruling cliques. The real and full facts in the case are seldom told them. The issues are more or less falsified in order to arouse the power of enthusiastic patriotism. Even where they partly know the facts they have no adequate machinery for the control of ambitious or scheming political leaders. And they are today ominously exposed to the schemes of a sensational press.

Problems Before the Conference on Limitation of Armaments

(For Wednesday, November 9, 1921.)

If we are to have a warless world the nations must adopt policies that will produce world-wide feelings of mutual confidence, of national security, and of certainty of receiving just international treatment. So long as nations are suspicious and afraid, so long as they really feel that neighbors are potential bullies and possible robbers and that their only hope of maintaining safety, of receiving due consideration and respect, and of securing justice, lies in their own right arms, there is little chance for a sweeping reduction of armaments. On the contrary increasing armaments, increasing in deadly power and in ruinous cost, will be inevitable. So long as international security, consideration and justice depend on national brute force, so long will armaments exist and grow.

What then are the major problems to be solved?

1. *Problems of Justice*

What is justice? How can it be judged? Is any nation really competent to know what justice requires in any case in which its own interests are involved? Is a plaintiff competent to act as both jury and judge?

As between France and Germany, for instance, each of which has suffered so much from the other during the past two centuries, is either country able to judge or appreciate what justice requires?

Or as between Japan and America, is either one really competent by itself alone to know what justice requires? Do not special interests and partial knowledge make impartial judgment practically impossible?

The problem to be solved here is the creating of suitable disinterested, unprejudiced and universally trusted agencies to study the facts, to make them known to all the world, to render decisions in the light of universally accepted principles, and to ensure their acceptance.

2. *Problems of Security*

Whenever a proposal for curtailment of armament is made, the question of national security at once arises—naturally and inevitably so—and it is a question that it would be sheer folly to ignore. However much our imaginations may respond to the dream of beating all our swords into plowshares, we have to face the stern realities of the actual world in which

we live. Whatever we are to do, we must provide for the safety of our country.

This much of fundamental truth there is in the argument of those who insist on a program of so-called "preparedness." But is it true that military preparations really afford this security? The answer is an unequivocal "no," for as soon as one nation makes a large outlay of arms and battleships, other nations immediately do likewise. No one nation, consequently, is in a stronger position relative to the others than it was before.

Not only do armaments not afford security, but they actually create insecurity, for the competition in armaments creates an atmosphere of suspicion, distrust and rival scheming, which is the most subtle foe to peace and safety. The possession of powerful and increasing military and naval forces unquestionably stimulates the development, both by their possessors and by their rivals, of policies they would not otherwise entertain. For national security we need more than anything else the good-will and mutual confidence which are now being undermined by rival armaments.

More than this, it is not too much to say that the expenditure of vast sums upon army and navy actually weakens the defensive power of a nation, for, as Mr. Frank Cobb has so convincingly pointed out in the August issue of "The Atlantic Monthly," in a day when wars are waged not by armies but by whole peoples the defensive power of the nation lies in its economic resources. The real strength of the nation is being drained, not added to, by an expenditure upon armament which has constantly to be replaced. "The stronger a nation is economically, the better prepared it is to defend itself; the weaker it is economically, the less prepared it is to defend itself, even if every man, woman and child is carrying a gun."

It would appear, therefore, that when the question of security is really scrutinized, a general reduction of armaments on the part of the nations would lessen the safety of none and add to the vital resources of all. For the maintenance of internal order, small armies will be necessary, but no good purpose is served by the *competitive* armaments of the present day.

3. *Special Problems in the Pacific*

The secondary problems are many and intricate. Their solution, however, is by no means

impossible if the primary problem has been solved. The following may be mentioned:

1. *China's Problems*

- (a) The Shantung Question.
- (b) Special "rights" and "concessions" to many nations.
- (c) "Territorial integrity" and "the open door."
- (d) Stable and orderly government.
- (e) Financial obligations to many nations.

2. *Japan's Problems*

- (a) Growing economic dependence on the Asiatic mainland for food and raw material.

- (b) Need for a stable and orderly government in China that can maintain uninterrupted trade with Japan.
- (c) Growing population.
- (d) Emigration.
- (e) Demands of honor for the abolition in the West of race discriminatory legislation against Japanese and for the universal adoption of the principle of the equality of race treatment.

3. *America's Problems*

- (a) Protection from Asiatic mass immigration, especially of Asiatic laborers.
- (b) Security for Pacific Island possessions, particularly the Philippines and Hawaii.
- (c) Equality of trade opportunities in the Far East.

Important Principles

The success of the Conference for the Limitation of Armament vitally depends on the adoption by the Conference of certain fundamental principles.

A. *The Principle of Open Agreements.*

The age when a few diplomats or statesmen conferring in private can wisely make great and fateful decisions for entire nations has passed. The peoples must know what the decisions of their statesmen are and the reasons for those decisions. This principle does not of course prevent statesmen and diplomats from meeting privately and considering together their great and difficult tasks. They should by all means establish those personal relations that are so needful for full mutual understanding. But the principle does preclude secret bargaining and the making of personal agreements that are not made public, much less the reasons for them.

B. *The Principle of the Open Door.*

This means equality of opportunity granted to all by all for trade and for every kind of economic enterprise. It forbids special discriminatory privileges for special nationalities, established by military force, by intrigue or by diplomacy. This principle is not of course to be confused with free trade nor with freedom for mass immigration. These are domestic questions which each country must regulate according to its own needs, problems and judgments.

C. *The Principle of Equality of Race Treatment.*

This means that every civilized nation grants to all aliens who come under its jurisdiction,

equality of legal status and treatment without regard to race, color or creed. This does not carry with it the necessary granting of privileges of citizenship to all without regard to personal qualifications. Each nation must decide for itself the standards of qualification which aliens must have to receive the privileges of citizenship; but whatever those standards may be, they are to be applied to all aliens without regard to race. Equality of race treatment has nothing whatever to do with the question of the restriction of immigration or of the intermarriage of races.

D. *The Principle of the Pacific Settlement of every International Dispute.*

This means that the nations voluntarily agree to submit for settlement by the International Courts of Justice or by general Arbitration or Conciliation Boards every difficulty which they cannot solve by their own diplomatic agents.

E. *The Principle of Mutual Reduction of Armaments.*

This means that the nations have the "will to peace," honestly plan to settle their disputes by law, reason and good-will and positively reject all purposes to use force to invade, injure or intimidate their neighbors.

In the Washington Conference it will doubtless be found that wholesome discussion and agreement on Far Eastern Problems and policies will be more easily secured after effective agreements have been made to disarm rather than before.

Conditions Essential to Success of the Conference

If the Washington Conference is going to succeed in its valiant attempt to reduce world armaments and promote world peace, certain conditions must be fulfilled.

1. *Imagination and Faith*

Members of the Conference need to think out and think through, new methods for relating the nations so that they may live together in intimate, mutually helpful cooperation. This will need a high order of creative imagination. Faith also is needed, the faith of delegates and of nations in each other, in an Eternal Purpose of righteousness at the heart of the universe, and hence in the practicability of ideals. Faith begets faith even as suspicion begets suspicion.

2. *Frankness and Sincerity*

The representatives of each Government should state clearly and fully and publicly what the international policies and programs are of their respective Governments.

3. *International Good-will*

The representatives of each Government need to convince those of the other Governments that they and their Government have no selfish ambition or private purpose that endangers the existence, the honor, the rights or the prosperity of other nations, and that the privileges and rights which they seek for their own people are compatible with the interests and rights and welfare of all.

4. *Agreements and Obligations*

Each Government, through its delegates, should be prepared to enter upon effective agreements to cooperate in the reduction by each of its own armaments, in maintaining each other's security and in promoting the impartial administration of international justice. Govern-

ments have and should accept their international obligations as faithfully as they seek their international rights and privileges.

5. *Effective International Agencies*

The concrete expression of the principles stated above is the creation of a permanent Society of Nations, a World Court of Justice, and Boards of Arbitration and Conciliation. In this modern world these agencies seem absolutely necessary for the development of international law, for the administration of international justice, for the rational and pacific settlement of disputes that do not clearly come under treaties or explicit laws, and for the effective maintenance of peace.

If intrigue for selfish privilege, if sordid motives, unscrupulous methods and dishonest utterances, and if the sinister forces of race prejudice, race arrogance and the spirit of revenge, that have played so disastrous a role in past history, can be banished from the Conference—if, in a word, genuine confidence in each other can be established at the Conference, its success will be assured.

Above all things else, this Conference calls—let us dare to say it—for vision, for moral and spiritual idealism. It needs to be led by what Christians call the Spirit of God, to have what the followers of Jesus term the mind of Christ. Whatever be the forms of faith of its members, it calls for spiritual devotion to those ideals of humanity which all nations at their best, share with each other. For our own representatives, let us pray without ceasing, that God may guide them with his own hand.

What the Conference May Rightly be Expected to Accomplish

American citizens may surely expect the Conference not to adjourn until it has reached some very definite and important results. At the very least these should include the following:

1. Acceptance of the principle that International Conferences dealing with vital interests of the nations shall be open to the public as a general rule, with suitable provision for executive sessions.

2. Adoption of joint agreements between the United States, Great Britain and Japan making large and immediate reductions in their respective naval budgets.

3. Generous, wholesome and united action regarding their relations to China, ceasing their rival, aggressive, economic policies, and helping her to the effective establishment of orderly Government and the maintenance of right international relations.

The Distinctive Contribution of the Church in Establishing a Warless World

(For Thursday, November 10, 1921.)

Is there indeed any distinctive contribution which the Church can and should make to the success of the Conference? Has the Church any essential part in establishing a warless world?

Chemists and physicists declare that future wars will be ever more dreadful and costly, more tragic and destructive. Economists declare that bankruptcy lies ahead of the nation and of the world if the present war-system is continued. Sociologists declare that unemployment will increase, that misery will grow, that civilization itself will decay and finally collapse if the mad race for armaments between great nations is indefinitely continued. Biologists declare that the human breed will degenerate in proportion as we send our best and fittest young life to the shambles for wholesale slaughter.

These positive and important declarations by unquestionable authorities convince us that ways *must* be found for preventing future wars. Each group of scientists makes his distinctive contribution. That contribution, however, we should note is negative—Thou shalt not. They do not go far in pointing the way nor in making it a reality.

Jurists, statesmen and legislators, however, come forward. They also make their distinctive contributions. They insist that world peace can come between the nations, only as it has measurably come between individuals, by the organized action of those who are peace-loving and law-abiding. For world-peace nations must unite to establish international law, courts of justice and boards of arbitration; and these must be supported by the moral sanctions and enforced by the united power of the co-operating nations. These authoritative spokesmen have already devised the social and political machinery. They are saying to the nations: "This is the way, walk ye in it."

Does the Church have a distinctive contribution to make? Has it any word as important

and as authoritative as that of the groups just mentioned?

Most assuredly it has. It declares on the highest authority that men of every nation and race are brothers, children of the Heavenly Father; that above all nations is humanity; that men and peoples of every land and race have inalienable rights; that justice, fair treatment and good-will between peoples and races are inescapable obligations, immutable moral laws ordained of God; that their violation is sin and brings terrible disaster and if persisted in, final destruction.

In the Message of the Church, it is not man's voice that speaks but God's.

"Ye have heard that it was said Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies and pray for them that persecute you."

"Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good."

"What doth Jehovah require of thee but to do justly, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God?"

Such are God's commands.

But the Church has more than a Message; more even than God's commands. In addition to the word of authority addressed to the mind, the Church brings its own unique gift of the spirit to change the hearts and the wills of men. It not only gives the command—Thou shalt, but it adds the word—Thou canst. It transmits the Spirit of Christ—a miracle occurs;—hate, fear, suspicion, greed, selfishness vanish, and the spirit of brotherhood, justice, good-will, service, take their place in the hearts of those who become Christian—who become true followers and disciples of Jesus.

It has become clear that no merely intellectual message however cogent, no appeal to the "enlightened self-interest of mankind" can establish a warless world. Men's *hearts* must be changed. There must come into the life of millions of men the spirit of good-will, of fair

play, of justice. *Deeds* of good-will and service can alone disarm suspicion and fear. Spiritual disarmament must precede physical disarmament. Not until nations stop hating and fearing and suspecting each other, not until they develop confidence in each other's good intentions can we expect any very sweeping reduction of armaments. "A sound and wide view of national interests," says Lord Bryce; "teaching peoples that they would gain more by co-operation of communities than by conflict, may do much to better those relations. But in the last resort the question is one of moral progress of the individual men who compose the communities."

The unique message and work of the Church then is to insist that *our* people shall possess the right spirit; that we shall have a spirit free from greed, prejudice and arrogance; that ours may be a spirit of brotherliness and good-will and sincerity, a spirit of unselfish service and

comradeship in the great venture of international and inter-racial life.

Mankind has come to another crossroads in its fateful history. To the left, controlled by the spirit of pride, arrogance, selfishness, greed and ambition lies the road to conflicts, to armaments, to wars, to destruction.

To the right, controlled by the spirit of good-will, of justice, of truthfulness, of co-operation, lies the road to harmony, to disarmament, to social welfare, to peace.

The Church holds in its hands the keys of life and death. **Its work is to create in men and in nations and races that spirit of justice, of brotherliness, of unselfish service, of co-operation. This is the way of life for men and for nations, and the only way. This spirit must dominate our nation if the Conference is to reach any large degree of success.** To secure this is the distinctive contribution of the Church.

Some Searching Questions

In our efforts for a warless world, it is not enough, as we have now seen, to call attention merely to the economic damage of war, to the staggering burdens of debt and taxation, to race degeneration or even to the ominous moral disaster evident in renewed animosities, bitter rivalries and burning desires for revenge.

Behind and below all these lies the fact of sin; terrible, national sin. The nations and the peoples have long been transgressing God's immutable, moral laws. The question before the nations is not merely one of more or less armaments. It is at bottom a question of obedience or disobedience to the eternal laws that men should love one another and should bear one another's burdens.

There has been sin, deep, black and revolting. There must also be repentance and regeneration, deep, genuine and permanent. Unless the nations gather at the Conference with repentant hearts and changed wills, that Conference will make shipwreck on the rocks and reefs of national selfishness and its accompanying diplomacy.

Nations, like individuals, are prone to see the

motes in the eyes of others and to ignore the beams in their own eyes. This is a temptation to which America especially is exposed. Yet we have the Lord's word for calling such an attitude hypocrisy. As Americans we need primarily to inquire about our own spirit, our own conduct.

Have we loved our enemies? Have we been really friendly to our neighbors, to Mexico on the south, and to Japan, that rising Oriental power across the Pacific? Or have we had our eyes fixed chiefly on their misdeeds and our consequent losses? How much heed have we paid to *our* deeds and *their* losses? And how about our spirit in dealing with them? Our patriotism, moreover, is it narrowly nationalistic? Does our sense of human brotherhood demand for men of other nations and races the same rights and privileges which we desire for ourselves?

These are serious and sobering questions. They are questions that our pastors should press home on the consciences of our people. Should not our churches announce in clarion tones the call to repentance from our own sins

and forgiveness of those who have sinned against us?

And is it not true that we have sinned not merely as a nation, but also as a Church. Has the Church not left undone things that it ought to have done—in the teaching of brotherliness, good-will and helpfulness? Have we steadily cultivated the spirit of Christ in our thought of Germans and Russians and Japanese—during recent years? Are the Churches of America even now doing all that they should be doing for abolishing war and in combatting

and destroying those teachings and that spirit that create armament and induce war?

Does the Church of today, like the apostolic Church, through the power of the Spirit, rise above barriers of race and nation? Can the modern church really fulfill its function in the world and make its true and distinctive and absolutely essential contribution to the establishment of a warless world, unless and until it does beget among its millions of members the mind and the heart of Christ in their relations with other peoples and other races?

The Practical Conclusion

"Be ye doers of the word and not hearers only, deluding your own selves."

"Faith apart from works is dead."

"Be not overcome of evil but overcome evil with good."

"Not everyone that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but He that Doeth the Will of my Father who is in Heaven."

HELPFUL LITERATURE

SPECIAL PACKAGE OF PAMPHLETS (25 CENTS)

The Church and a Warless World. The Next Step—Reduction of Armaments.

The Next War, by Will Irwin—4-page leaflet.

Shall We End War? by Harry Emerson Fosdick—16 pp.

The Staggering Burden of Armament, by Edward Cummings.

On the Trail of the Truth About Japan, by William Axling.

Facts About the Japanese in California, American League of Justice.

Order from the Federal Council, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

I. On the Necessity for Reducing Armaments

The Next War, by Will Irwin, 161 pages, special price, if ordered by pastors from the Federal Council, \$.85 including postage.

Now It Can be Told, by Philip Gibbs, 400 pp., \$3.50, Houghton Mifflin Co., N. Y.

The Fruits of Victory, by Norman Angel, 335 pp., \$3.00, The Century Co., N. Y.

II. On the Pacific and Far Eastern Problems

A. By Japanese.

Japan and World Peace, by K. K. Kawakami, 196 pp., \$1.50. MacMillan Co., New York, N. Y.

Japan and the California Question, by T. Iyenaga, 250 pp., \$2.50. Putnam's Sons, New York, N. Y.

California and the Japanese, by K. Kanzaki, 98 pp., \$.50, Japanese Association, 444 Bush Street, San Francisco.

B. By Americans.

What Shall I Think of Japan, by George Gleason, 285 pp., \$2.25. MacMillan Co., New York, N. Y.

Must We Fight Japan? by W. B. Pitkin, 536 pp., \$2.50, Century Co., N. Y.

America's Stake in the Far East, by Chas. H. Fahs, 165 pp., \$1.35 (cloth), \$.95 (paper), Association Press, N. Y.

The New Map of Asia, by H. A. Gibbons, 525 pp., \$2.00, Chautauqua Press, Chautauqua, N. Y.

American Japanese Relations, by Sidney L. Gulick, 30 pp., \$.25, Federal Council.

III. Lantern Slides

Information about a series of lantern slides that may be used in illustrating discussions on the reduction of armaments may be secured from J. A. Rawson, 18 East 37th Street, New York.

A Children's Pageant, by Miss Anna Cope Evans. (See p. 5.)

Concrete Suggestions

What can individual citizens do to help in the reduction of armaments?

1. Accept your personal responsibility in helping your church and your community to believe in the practicality of a warless world.
2. Help circulate "A Creed for Believers in a Warless World," this booklet, and other relevant literature.
3. Master and remember the facts, figures and policies given in this booklet under "Startling Statistics," "Problems before the Conference" and "Important Principles."
4. Write individual letters to your two Senators, to your Representative in the House and to the four American members in the Conference. Remember that resolutions passed in mass meetings or signed by hundreds or even thousands of names, though valuable, do not begin to have the influence with legislators that individual letters have which show intelligent knowledge, deep interest and personal conviction.
5. Unite with others in getting the Mayor to ask all citizens to pause for two minutes at noon on November 11, for silent prayer for God's blessing not only on our beloved country, but also on the International Conference.
6. Talk in your home and with friends about the Conference, being equipped for such conversation by the information given in this and other pamphlets dealing with the necessity for an immediate reduction of armaments.
7. Write short letters of not more than 300-400 words to your local newspapers. Editors as a rule are glad to know what their readers are interested in.
8. Let Church groups, women's clubs, or other organizations ask the managers of local motion picture houses to prepare and use each afternoon and evening, five or six slides presenting statistics and brief quotations on the question of the reduction of armaments.
9. Throughout the period of the Conference maintain continued attention to its proceedings and continued study of international problems and policies.